

The University of Chicago

THE FRANCO-CANADIAN DIALECT
OF PAPINEAUVILLE, QUEBEC
PHONETIC SYSTEM, MORPHOLOGY
SYNTAX, AND VOCABULARY

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES
JUNE, 1943

By
JOSEPH ALLYN LANDRY

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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NOTE

Certain references in the following pages are to parts of the dissertation which are not included in this "essential portion." The complete dissertation is to be found in the University of Chicago Libraries.



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I. PHONETIC SYSTEM OF THE DIALECT OF PAPINEAUVILLE¹

A. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

It has been frequently and justly observed that "les Canadiens-Français ont la bouche molle."² This statement is particularly applicable to the illiterate habitants of Papineauville, of whose speech mollesse and relâchement d'articulation are indeed the most striking characteristics. In this respect the Franco-Canadian dialect of Papineauville (hereafter abbreviated to Pap.³) conforms with other transplanted languages in North America, both American English and North American Spanish exhibiting similar qualities of looseness and relaxation.

Rarely do the various sounds of Pap. receive the clear, vigorous, and definite utterance that characterizes their standard French counterparts. The tension or closure of consonants is generally weak and unprecise, often becoming so relaxed in rapid speech as to disappear entirely. Occlusives may then become slightly fricative, and both occlusives and fricatives are apt to become voiced or to fall. This is particularly true of consonants in the intervocalic position. Ex. avec elle [avèg èl],⁴ encore [ãgũr], à la maison [a a mézø], tous les jours [tu é žur]. Certain consonants in "heavy" groups are readily subject to assimilation. Ex. piastre [pjas] (=dollar⁵), cataplasme [kataplas],

¹It should be clearly understood at the outset that many of the particularities noted in the following pages for the Franco-Canadian dialect of Papineauville are not Canadian developments *per se*, but preservations of developments completed by the 16th century in the original French dialects of which Franco-Canadian speech is composed. The distinction between such archaisms and true canadianisms (i.e., developments which have occurred in Canada since the 17th century, and which are unknown in France) has not been considered as falling within the province of the present study.

²Abbé Théophile Hudon, Manuel de prononciation française (Montréal, 1931), p. 9.

³The abbreviation Pap. is used to designate only that form of French which was the object of the present investigation, i.e., the Franco-Canadian dialect spoken by the uneducated rural population of Papineauville, Quebec. Written discourse has not been considered in this study.

⁴For a definition of the sounds represented by the phonetic characters used herein, see Table of Phonetic Symbols, p. 19, and the following descriptive sections.

⁵In the examples, unrecognizable canadianisms are followed by their standard French equivalents, the latter being preceded by the = sign.

parce que [pas kə], plus [py], parle-moi [pal-mwé], avoir [awèi:r].

A similar laxity of articulation is observable in the pronunciation of the vowels. Close vowels are less close than their standard equivalents. Rounded front vowels are produced with less vigorous rounding of the lips. Unstressed vowels often become obscured. Ex. à peu près [a pə pra], aujourd'hui [ôzərd'ji], soucoupe [səkUp], concombre [kəkômb]. Stressed long vowels are generally diphthongized, especially when open in quality. Ex. part [pâur], tête [tèi:t], blanche [blâ:̃:s], prince [prêi:s]. Vowels in contact with m, n, or gn in the following syllable are subject to slight nasalization. Ex. banane, mine, dammé, flamme, gagner, in which the vowels of the first syllable have a clearly distinguishable nasality.

Finally, the effects of relaxation are observable in the sentence, which is characterized by a general drawling quality of enunciation quite unlike the clean-cut, staccato utterance of standard speech. Also observable in the sentence is a marked tendency to slur unstressed syllables, many of which are apt to be crowded out in rapid, animated speech. The results of such reduction are apparent in such a sentence as Je ne sais pas si je vais être capable d'aller chercher les vaches tout à l'heure, which in Pap. is apt to be contracted as follows: J' sais pas si m'as êt' capab' d'aller 'cher 'es vaches t'à l'heure [ê sé pò si m'ò èi:t kapab d'alé sê é vaê t'a l'œ:r]. Individual cases of reduction through relaxation are discussed in greater detail in the sections on pronunciation which follow.

B. TABLE OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS¹

Symbol	Pronunciation ²	Examples	Reference ³
[i]	French " <u>ici</u> "	<u>lit</u> [li], <u>fini</u> [fini]	23
[I]	German " <u>bitte</u> "	<u>fil</u> [fil], <u>vite</u> [vit]	23
[é]	French " <u>été</u> "	<u>été</u> [été], <u>des</u> [dé], <u>irai</u> [iré]	25
[è]	French " <u>mette</u> "	<u>mette</u> [mèt], <u>espèce</u> [èspès]	25
[èi]	Diphthong: [è+I]	<u>tête</u> [tèi:t], <u>père</u> [pèi:r]	25
[a]	French " <u>alla</u> "	<u>a</u> [a], <u>sa</u> [sa], <u>lac</u> [lak]	26
[ä]	Midwestern American " <u>law</u> "	<u>bâtir</u> [bäti:r], <u>barrer</u> [bäre]	27

¹For a more complete explanation, see the following description of the individual sounds.

²The symbol represents the sound of the letter(s) underscored in the word in quotation marks.

³Reference is made to the pages on which the individual sounds are discussed in detail.

Symbol	Pronunciation	Examples	Reference
[<u>äu</u>]	Diphthong: [ä+U]	<u>âge</u> [äü:z], <u>char</u> [šäu:r], or [<u>äu</u> :r]	27
[<u>äi</u>]	Diphthong: [ä+I]	<u>paille</u> [päi:s], <u>volaille</u> [völäi:s]	27
[<u>ai</u>]	Diphthong: [a+I]	<u>faine</u> [fai:n], <u>blind</u> [blai:n]	27
[<u>æi</u>]	Diphthong: Mid-western American [æ] + [I]	<u>Presse</u> [præi:s], <u>cesse</u> [sæi:s]	25
[<u>ò</u>]	French " <u>notre</u> "	<u>notre</u> [nòt], <u>robe</u> [ròb], <u>bas</u> [bò]	27
[<u>ó</u>]	French " <u>dos</u> "	<u>dos</u> [dó], <u>faute</u> [fó:t], <u>eau</u> [ó]	27
[U]	German " <u>Mitter</u> "	<u>pouce</u> [pUs], <u>boule</u> [bUl], <u>coude</u> [kUd]	23
[u]	French " <u>vous</u> "	<u>vous</u> [vu], <u>mou</u> [mi], <u>blouse</u> [blu:z]	23
[y]	French " <u>lu</u> "	<u>lu</u> [ly], <u>rue</u> [ry], <u>uni</u> [yni]	23
[Y]	German " <u>missen</u> "	<u>une</u> [Yn], <u>brute</u> [brYt], <u>muscle</u> [mYsk]	23
[ø]	French " <u>peu</u> "	<u>peu</u> [pø], <u>deux</u> [dø], <u>creuse</u> [krø:z]	28
[œ]	French " <u>seul</u> "	<u>seul</u> [sœl], <u>fleur</u> [flœ:r]	28
[ə]	French " <u>lever</u> "	<u>se</u> [sə], <u>lever</u> [ləvé], <u>demi</u> [dəmi]	28
[ã]	French " <u>dans</u> "	<u>dans</u> [dã], <u>enfant</u> [ãfã]	29
[<u>äü</u>]	Diphthong: [ä+Ü]	<u>langue</u> [läü:g], <u>blanche</u> [bläü:š]	30
[<u>ë</u>]	[è] nasalized	<u>fin</u> [fë], <u>main</u> [më], <u>un</u> [ë]	29
[<u>ẽ</u>]	[é] nasalized	<u>nez</u> [nẽ], <u>moi</u> [mwẽ]	29
[<u>ei</u>]	Diphthong: [ë+I]	<u>prince</u> [prei:s], <u>mince</u> [mei:s]	30
[<u>ö</u>]	French " <u>donc</u> "	<u>on</u> [ö], <u>bon</u> [bö], <u>montrer</u> [mōtré]	29
[<u>öü</u>]	Diphthong: [ö+Ü]	<u>tombe</u> [töü:b], <u>honte</u> [hōü:t]	30
[<u>œ</u>]	French " <u>un</u> "	<u>un</u> [œ], <u>aucun</u> [ókœ], <u>brun</u> [brœ]	29
[j]	French " <u>piéd</u> "	<u>piéd</u> [pjé], <u>lieu</u> [ljø], <u>fille</u> [fIj]	31
[w]	French " <u>oui</u> "	<u>oui</u> [wi], <u>fouine</u> [fwIn]	31
[ÿ]	French " <u>lui</u> "	<u>lui</u> [lÿi], <u>nuît</u> [nÿi]	31
[p]	French " <u>pipe</u> "	<u>pipe</u> [pIp], <u>absent</u> [apsä]	34
[b]	French " <u>bébé</u> "	<u>bébé</u> [bëbé], <u>bâtir</u> [bätir]	34
[t]	French " <u>ton</u> "	<u>ton</u> [tö], <u>tâter</u> [täté], <u>chatte</u> [šat]	34
[d]	French " <u>dans</u> "	<u>dans</u> [dã], <u>vide</u> [vId], <u>fade</u> [fad]	34
[t̥]	French [t+s] ¹	<u>bâtir</u> [bätir], <u>tu</u> [t̥y]	34
[d̥]	French [d+z] ¹	<u>du</u> [d̥y], <u>dîner</u> [d̥iné], <u>dire</u> [d̥ir]	34
[k]	French " <u>car</u> "	<u>comme</u> [kòm], <u>curé</u> [kyré], <u>sac</u> [sak]	35
[g]	French " <u>gare</u> "	<u>garçon</u> [garsö], <u>gros</u> [gró]	35
[ġ]	Spanish fricative <u>g</u>	<u>encore</u> [äġü:r], <u>ta gueule</u> [ta ġœl]	35
[f]	French " <u>fin</u> "	<u>fin</u> [fë], <u>phrase</u> [fräu:z]	36

¹The assibilated dentals [t̥] and [d̥] each consist of a single sound.
(See section F-1, p. 34.)

Symbol	Pronunciation	Examples	Reference
[v]	French " <u>vin</u> "	<u>vin</u> [vẽ], <u>laver</u> [lavé]	36
[s]	French " <u>sans</u> "	<u>sans</u> [sã], <u>sac</u> [sak], <u>grosse</u> [gró:s]	36
[z]	French " <u>rose</u> "	<u>rose</u> [ró:z], <u>zéro</u> [zéro]	36
[s̃]	French " <u>chez</u> "	<u>chez</u> [s̃é], <u>chercher</u> [s̃ar̃sé]	36
[z̃]	French " <u>âge</u> "	<u>âge</u> [ãu:z̃], <u>j'ai</u> [z̃'é], <u>gens</u> [z̃ã]	36
[l]	French " <u>il</u> "	<u>lac</u> [lak], <u>balle</u> [bal], <u>blé</u> [blé]	37
[r]	French tongue-tip trilled <u>r</u>	<u>rue</u> [ry], <u>rire</u> [ri:r]	37
[m]	French " <u>mais</u> "	<u>mais</u> [mé], <u>ami</u> [ami], <u>dame</u> [dam]	38
[n]	French " <u>nous</u> "	<u>nous</u> [nu], <u>année</u> [ané], <u>une</u> [Yn]	38
[ñ]	French " <u>agneau</u> "	<u>agneau</u> [año], <u>vigne</u> [vĩn]	38
[k̃]	Midwestern Amer- ican " <u>sing</u> "	<u>spring</u> [sprĩĩ], <u>tongue</u> [tòĩ]	38
[h]	American " <u>hat</u> "	<u>aha</u> [aha], <u>hache</u> [haš], <u>haut</u> [hó]	37
[:]	sign of length		22

C. ACCENTUATION

1. Nature of the Tonic Stress

The auditory prominence of one syllable over another is achieved in Pap., as it is in standard French, by an increase of intensity or force of utterance, accompanied by a change of pitch. The voice rises slightly on each non-final stressed syllable; it drops slightly on each stressed syllable that completes an idea.

Variations in pitch are not so marked in Pap. as they are in standard French.¹ Variations in intensity or loudness, are, on the other hand, much more prominent. Hence the difference in the degree of audibility between a stressed syllable and its unstressed neighbors is sometimes nearly as great as that which exists in English.²

2. Position of the Stress

As in standard French, the tonic stress in normal speech regularly

¹Consequently the tonal range of non-affective Pap. speech is comparatively limited. Unstressed syllables are uttered in more or less of a monotone, while the rise and fall of the voice on stressed syllables is perhaps only half as great as it is in the standard language. In affective speech, of course, the tonal range between high and low pitch is generally greatly increased.

²The extreme weakness of unstressed syllables occurring between the secondary and the primary stress is doubtless responsible for many of the relaxed or obscured vowels discussed in section A, above.

falls on the last syllable of an isolated word or a stress-group.¹ Ex. 'oui, qua-'torze, c'est 'moi.²

The secondary stress, though generally conforming with standard usage, may be so weak as to be almost imperceptible. Ex. 'sim-ple-'ment, 'mon-trez-'moi, le 'vou-lez-'vous, l'a-'mi de ma 'sœur.²

In affective speech, the emphatic stress is generally used in Pap. as it is in standard French, i.e., the word to be emphasized is accented on the first of its syllables that begins with a consonant. Emphatic accentuation of a non-final syllable is, however, usually accompanied by a marked weakening of the normal stress. Ex. C'est é-'pou-van-'table!, C'est 'mer-veil-'leux!, J'en ai 'beau-'coup. Contrary to standard usage, many words beginning with a vowel sound usually receive the emphatic stress on the first syllable in Pap. Ex. 'C't ef-fra-'yant! (=C'est effrayant), C'es-'t im-pos-'sible!, C'est une 'ef-fron-'tée!

D. QUANTITY

The standard rules for vowel quantity generally hold good for individual Pap. words. Stressed oral vowels are as a rule long (or diphthongized) when checked by final [r], [v], [z], [ʒ], or [j]. Ex. pour [pu:r],³ vert [vèi:r], livre [li:v], neuve [nœ:v], cerise [sri:z], fraise [frèi:z], page [pa:ʒ], rouge [ru:ʒ], feuille [fœ:j], paille [pâi:j].

Exceptions to standard usage occur in the case of the narrow vowels [i], [Y], and [U]. None of these vowels is lengthened by final [j], or, in verb-forms, by final [z] or [ʒ]. The vowels [Y] and [U], furthermore, are not lengthened by [v]. (See Narrow Vowels, p. 23, for examples.)

The Pap. equivalents of the standard French nasal vowels, of vowels bearing the circumflex accent, and of the vowels [a], [o], and [ø] are all long (or diphthongized) before any phonetically final consonant sound.⁴ Ex. blanche [blɑ̃:ʃ], tombe [tɔ̃:b], prince [prɛi:s], emprunte [ɑ̃pʀɛ:t], âge [ɑ̃:ʒ], tête [tɛi:t], côte [kɔ̃:t], classe [klɑ̃:s], gueuse [gø:z].

¹Syllable division is made in Pap. according to the rules which apply to standard French.

²In the examples the primary stress is indicated by the accent ('), the secondary stress, by the accent (^).

³Long vowels are denoted by a following colon. Half-length is not indicated in this study. It may be assumed that vowels half-long in standard French words are also half-long in their Pap. equivalents.

⁴Exceptions are i and ô, of which the Pap. equivalents are always short. (See Narrow Vowels, p. 23.)

In Pap., vowels which in isolated words are long are less likely to surrender their fundamental character in atonic positions within the stress-group than is usually the case in standard French. This is particularly apparent in the case of diphthongs, which lose only a negligible portion of their diphthongal quality in atonic positions. Thus the tonic diphthong of the word tête in J'ai mal à la tête does not differ appreciably, apart from a slight loss of quantity, from the atonic diphthong of the tête in tête en fromage.

E. VOWELS¹

1. The Narrow Vowels: [i], [y], [u] and [I], [Y], [U]

Pronunciation

The narrow vowels, which in standard French are orthographically represented by the letters i, u, and ou, have two clearly distinguishable qualities in Pap.: close and open. The close values are pronounced as in the SF.² words lit, lu, and tout. They are represented in this study by the symbols [i], [y], and [u], respectively. Ex. si [si], vu [vy], nous [nu].

The open values of the narrow vowels are pronounced with the tongue slightly lowered and centered. They do not exist in SF., but are practically identical with the vowel sounds in the German words "bitte," "missen," and "Mutter." They are here represented by the symbols [I], [Y], and [U], respectively. Ex. vile [vIl], lune [lYn], toute [tUt].

Use

The close values [i], [y], and [u] are used in Pap. only:

¹In the following presentation, the various Pap. vowels and consonants are described individually and compared with their standard French equivalents. The comparison between dialect sounds and standard French sounds has been set forth in terms of the academic rules of orthography. This procedure, although somewhat unconventional in the study of a spoken language, has seemed desirable because of the considerable degree of similarity that exists between the two languages, and because Pap. pronunciation, though differing radically at times from that of the standard language, is nevertheless readily classifiable according to the same orthographical principles. While not intended as a phonetic description of Pap. in the strictest sense, the following sections should serve as a manual for the correct pronunciation of the sounds of the dialect, setting forth as they do the various spelling classes in which Pap. pronunciation is either identical with or different from that of literary French. A knowledge of the standard rules of orthography, and of the sounds that correspond with the various conventional spellings, is of course presupposed on the part of the reader.

²The term "standard French" is hereafter abbreviated SF. The following authorities have been consulted for standard French usage: Hatzfeld, Darmesteter, and Thomas, Dictionnaire général de la langue française, Littré, Dictionnaire de la langue française, and the Larousse universel.

a. When free. Ex. si [si], lit [li], fi-ni [fi-ni], lu [ly], rue [ry], u-ni [y-ni], mou [mu], gout [gu], sou-vent [su-vã].

b. When long.¹ Ex. arrive [ari:v], vive [vi:v], cerise [sri:z], brise [bri:z], vire [vi:r], tire [ti:r], livre [li:v], vivre [vi:v], mar [my:r], sûr [sy:r], blouse [blu:z], cour [ku:r], rouge [ru:ž].

The open values [I], [Y], and [U] are used when they are phonetically checked and short. Ex. fil [fIl], mine [mIn], dis-trait [dIs-tra], une [Yn], brute [brYt], mus-clé [mYs-klé], mousse [mUs], soupe [sUp], pour-quoi [pUr-kwa]. The final vowel of the following Pap. words, whose SF. equivalents have vowels lengthened by "lengthening" final consonants, are short,¹ and hence the open values [I], [Y], and [U] are used: fil [fIj], anguille [ãgIj], [ãgIj], rouille [rUj], fouille [fUj], disent [dIz], frise [fri:z], amuse [amYz], use [Yz], corrige [kòrIž], afflige [aflIž], tige [tiž], bouge [buž], juge [žYž], cuve [kYv], trouve [trUv], ouvre [Uv], gencive [žãsIv], file [Il], dîne [dIn], croûte [krUt].

Summing up these facts, it may be said of the narrow vowels in Pap. that the close values occur only when free or when long, and that the open values occur only when checked and short.² The operation of this principle may be clearly observed in the following pairs of words, where a change in the position of the narrow vowel is attended by a change in its pronunciation. The free (hence close) value is given first, the checked (hence open) value, second: vitesse [vi-tès] - vite [vIt]; fillette [fi-jèt] - fil [fIj]; unir [y-ni:r] - une [Yn]; cuvette [ky-vèt] - cuve [kYv]; souper [su-pé] - soupe [sUp]; bouillir [bu-ji:r] - bouille [bUj].

Remarks:

a. In the initial syllable of a few Pap. words, SF. [y] is represented by [u]. Ex. jument [žumã], ruban [rubã], fucher [žuké], sursaut [sursó].

b. In a few Pap. words, SF. unstressed [u] is represented by neutral e, [e]. Ex. aujourd'hui [óžgrq'yi], soucoupe [søkUp], toujours [tøžu:r]. The Pap. equivalent of poumon is [pòmõ].

¹See Quantity, p. 22. The narrow vowels are not lengthened by final [j], or, in verb-forms, by final [z] or [ž]. The vowels [Y] and [U] are not lengthened by [v]. The front narrow vowel, though usually long before [v], is short in gencive [žãsIv]. Finally, the Pap. equivalents of SF. i and ou are not long.

²This statement does not apply infallibly to the narrow vowels in unstressed positions. Here the pronunciation varies according to the individual, the circumstances, and the nature of the discourse, a given speaker often wavering between one value and the other. Assimilation may operate here, two or more like vowels in consecutive syllables frequently assuming the quality of that one of them which receives the stress. Ex. difficile [dI-fi-sIl], visite [vi-zIt].

2. Close E, Open E, and the Diphthong [èi]

Close e (symbol [é]) and open e (symbol [è]) are in general pronounced as in the SF. words été and espèce, respectively. These sounds correspond to the close and open values of SF. e in most positions. Ex. dé [dé], des [dé], pié [pjé], j'irai [ž'iré], espèce [èspès], mette [mèt], sec [sèk], tel [tèl].

Exceptions:

a. SF. open e, when orthographically represented by the digraph ai followed by a final silent consonant or final in non-verbs,¹ has as its Pap. equivalent the vowel [a], which is pronounced like standard front a, as in patte. The same is true of the terminations written -et² and -ès in SF. polysyllables. Ex. avait [ava], allais [ala], iraient [ira], lait [la], portrait [pòrtra], balai [bala], vrai [vra], objet [òbža], paquet [paka], exprès [è(k)spra].

b. In verb-forms where SF. open e is orthographically represented by the digraph ai followed by a mute-e ending, Pap. has [è] plus an additional [j]-sound. Ex. aie [è:j], aient [è:j], paient [pè:j].³ The Pap. equivalent of the SF. present subjunctive form ait is [è:j].

c. SF. open e followed by [r] plus another consonant sound is generally represented in Pap. by the vowel [a]. Ex. ferme [farm], vernis [varni], verte [vart], perle [parl], herbe [arb], derrière [darjèi:r]. The same is true of the SF. open e in elle, [a] or [al], and of the SF. close e in essayer, [asè-jé].

d. To SF. open e, when long and stressed, corresponds a Pap. diphthong whose beginning and final positions may extend far beyond the normal limits of the phoneme [è]. In its extreme form, the diphthong has as its first (and stressed) element a sound closely akin to Midwestern American [æ] as in "hat," and as its final element the sound of open i [I]. In the speech of some persons, it may begin with the sound of close e [é], and glide into the sound of [I].⁴

¹The Pap. equivalents of the words mai, gai, geai, and quai are, however, pronounced with a close e, as in SF.: [mé], [gé], [žé], [ké].

²In certain Pap. words the termination written -et in SF. is represented by [èt]. See the consonant [t], Remark c, p. 35.

³In the case of verbs whose SF. equivalents end in -ayer, Pap. is merely retaining the full phonetic value of the y recommended for both pronunciation and spelling by careful speakers of SF. (Cf. section 8-c, p. 32.)

⁴This latter pronunciation is not indigenous to Papineauville, and is considered amusing by the inhabitants. Among the examples noted are: père [pèi:r], mère [méi:r], mirroir [mirwéi:r].

In its most conservative and common form, however, the diphthong begins with the sound of [è] and closes to or near the position for [I]. The auditory impression is that of a single syllable, the force of utterance being strongest at the first element, and decreasing at a uniform rate until the final element is reached.

The diphthong described above is represented here by the symbol [èi]. The following examples illustrate the most common situations in which it occurs.¹ Ex. tête [tèi:t], chêne [chèi:n], rêve [rèi:v], seize [sèi:z], cher [chèi:r], chaîne [chèi:n].

e. Worthy of special mention is the name of Montreal's leading newspaper, La Presse. Here the diphthong is heard in its extreme form, [sɛi:] [la prɛsɛi:s]. Some speakers extend this pronunciation to other words whose SF. equivalents terminate in -esse. Ex. princesse [prɛsɛi:s], cesse [sɛi:s], confesse [kɔ̃fɛsɛi:s]. The Pap. equivalent of messe, however, is [mès].

f. The Pap. equivalents of a few words such as trèfle, crème, crève, lève, and achève, are pronounced with either [è] or [œ]. Ex. [trɛf] or [trœf], [krɛm] or [krœm], [krè:v] or [krœv], etc.

g. In a few Pap. words, SF. unstressed open e written ai is represented by [é]. Ex. aiguille [égɥij], maîtresse [métrɛs], maison [mézɔ̃], raisin [rézɛ̃], raison [rézɔ̃], saison [sézɔ̃]. In some words this seems to be the result of a kind of "vowel harmony." Ex. aider [édé], ainé [éné], pêcher [pésé], vêler [vélé], démêler [déméilé].

h. For the nasalization of the vowel in the Pap. equivalent of neige, see Simple Nasal Vowels, Remark, page 30.

i. In the Pap. equivalents of the words balayer, délayer, oreiller, and trayon, no open-e sound is heard: [baljé], [délijé], [arjé] or [òrjé], [trijɔ̃]. (See Semiconsonants, Exception e, p. 31.) The Pap. equivalent of crayon is [kréjɔ̃] or [krijɔ̃].

3. Pap. Equivalents of SF. [a] and [ɑ]

[a].--Of the several Pap. equivalents of SF. [a] and [ɑ], front a (symbol [a]) is identical with its SF. counterpart as found in patte. This sound corresponds to SF. front a in all positions except (1) when it is stressed and free, and (2) when it is checked by [r]. Ex. a [a], la [la],² ça [sa],²

¹The vowel [è] does not diphthongize before final [j]. Ex. réveille [révè:j], soleil [sòlè:j], aie [è:j], paient [pè:j]. (Cf. Exception b, above.) The same is usually true of [è] before final [v], except in words where the e is written in SF. with the circumflex accent. Ex. lève [lè:v], boive [bwè:v]; but rêve [rèi:v].

²The Pap. equivalents of the pronouns la and ça, when stressed, are [lò] and [sò], according to the statement concerning [ò], below. Ex. Si tu la [la] vois, amène-la [lò]. Ça [sa] fait mal, ça [sò].

savate [savat], lac [lak], tache [taš], travaille [trava:j].

Remark: The Pap. equivalents of the words papa and maman are [pòpò] or [pupò], and [mòmā] or [mamā].

[ò].--When stressed and free, SF. front a is represented in Pap. by the vowel sound [ò], which is identical with SF. open o as found in botte. Ex. i'a [j'ò] (=il a), t'as [t'ò] (=tu as), là [lò], chat [šò], tabac [tabò].

[ū].--To SF. [a] in unstressed positions corresponds the Pap. vowel [ū]. This sound, which is pronounced with the tongue slightly lower and farther back than for [ò], is nearly identical with the Midwestern American back-round vowel in the word "law." Ex. gâteau [gütó], barrer [bŕé], carreau [küró], casser [käsé], bâtir [bütir], lacet [lŕsa], nation [näsjo], occasion [òküzjo], tailleur [tŕjé].

[ü].--SF. [a], when stressed and checked by any consonant sound except [j], and SF. [a], when stressed and checked by [r],¹ are represented by the Pap. diphthong [ü], which consists of the vowel [ū] followed by an [U]-glide. Ex. âge [äü:ž], âne [äü:n], classe [kläü:s], as [äü:s], espace [èspü:s], vase [vü:sz], écrase [ékräü:sz], part [päu:r], char [šäü:r], lard [läu:r].²

[iï].--SF. [a], when stressed and checked by [j], is represented by the Pap. diphthong [iï], which consists of the vowel [ū] followed by an [I]-glide. Ex. paille [püi:j], volaille [vòlŕi:j], caille [kŕi:j].³

[ai].--Of rare occurrence is the diphthong [ai], which is practically identical with the diphthong in the American words "I," "my," "sigh." Ex. faine [fai:n], blind [blai:n] (=store), binder [baindé] (=lier en gerbes), black-eye [blag-ai:j] (=oeil poché).

4. Close O and Open O

Close o (symbol [ó]) and open o (symbol [ò]) are in general pronounced as in the SF. words mot and botte, respectively. These sounds correspond to the close and open values of SF. o in most positions. Ex. dos [dó], eau [ó], faute [fó:t], poser [pózé], mot [mó],⁴ comme [kòm], robe [ròb], école [ékòl], mauvais [mòva], Paul [pòl].

¹The preposition par and the conjunction car, since they never receive the stress, do not fall within this category. They are pronounced [pa:r], [ka:r].

²In this group may be included such words as miracle [miräü:k] and sable [säü:b].

³With some speakers the [I]-glide is discernible before [j] even in unstressed syllables. Ex. tailleur [tŕijø:r], cailler [kŕijé].

⁴In certain Pap. words, the termination written -ot in SF. is represented by [òt]. See the consonant [t], Remark c, p. 35.

Exception: When stressed and checked by the single consonant sound [r], SF. open o is represented in Pap. by the diphthong [œ̃], described above as one of the equivalents of SF. [a].¹ Ex. nord [nœ̃:r], accord [akœ̃:r], sort [sœ̃:r].

Remarks:

a. In the initial syllable of most words which have a close tonic vowel, SF. close o is represented by Pap. [u], evidently as a result of "vowel harmony." Ex. rôti [ruʔi], clôture [kluʔy:r], aussi [usi], saucisse [susIs], maudit [mɔ̃di], beaucoup [buku]. The Pap. equivalent of the word obliger is [ublizê].

b. In the initial syllable of a few words, SF. open o is represented in Pap. by either [a] or [ô]. The pronunciation [a] is almost general before the sound [r]. Ex. aurai [aré] or [ôré], saurai [saré] or [sôré], oreille [arè:j] or [ôrè:j], oreiller [arjé] or [ôrjé], original [ariñal] or [ôriñal], orteil [artè:j] or [ôrtè:j], horloge [arlò:ž] or [ôrlò:ž], orage [ara:ž] or [ôra:ž], chopine [šapIn] or [šôpIn], dommage [dama:ž] or [dôma:ž], colimaçon [kalimasô] or [kôlimasô], saumon [samô] or [sômô], soliveau [salivô] or [sôlivô], omelette [amlèt] or [ômlèt]. Also represented by [a] or [ô] is the SF. close o in chaudron and chaudière: [šadrô] or [šôdrô], [šaɕjèi:r] or [šôɕjèi:r].²

c. There is a considerable tendency, especially in bookish words, to close certain o's which in SF. are open. Ex. photographie [fôtógrafi], automobile [ôtómobil], democratique [démókraʔik], avocat [avókò], poteau [pótó].

5. The Rounded Front Vowels

Of the rounded front vowels [y], [ø], [œ], and neutral e (symbol [ɛ]), the first has already been discussed. (See Narrow Vowels, p. 23.) The vowels [ø], [œ], and [ɛ] are pronounced as in the SF. words peu, seul, and ce, respectively. Generally speaking, these vowels correspond to their SF. equivalents in most positions. Ex. peu [pø], veut [vø], creuse [krø:z], seul [sœl], fleur [flœ:r], jeune [žœn], le [lɛ],³ lever [lɛvé], repas [rɛpò].

Exceptions:

a. In the following words, SF. [œ] before [r] is represented in Pap. by [ø]: beurre [bø:r], peur [pø:r], peureux [pøʔø], heureux [øʔø], pleurer [pløré].

¹French-Canadian manuals of correct pronunciation seldom fail to inveigh against the common failure to distinguish between such pairs of homonyms as fort and phare [fœ̃:r], port and part [pœ̃:r], corps and quart [kœ̃:r], vieil or vieillard [vjêjœ̃:r].

²For other Pap. equivalents of the word chaudière, see the consonant [d], Remark b, p. 34.

³The Pap. equivalent of the personal pronoun le, when stressed, is [lé]. See Personal Pronouns, section b, p. 51.

b. In proper names, SF. initial [œ] and [ø] are usually represented by Pap. [y]. Ex. Europe [yròp], Eugène [yžèin], Eustache [ystaš], Euclide [yklid].

c. Before the sound [z], SF. neutral e is represented in Pap. by some other value of e. Ex. peser [pézé], pesant [pézã], faisant [fèzã]. The Pap. equivalent of grenier is [griné].

Remark: For other particularities in the use of neutral e in Pap., see the following sections: Elision, p. 39, Metathesis, p. 41, Epenthesis, p. 41.

6. The Nasal Vowels and Diphthongs

In Pap., a vowel is nasalized when followed in the same syllable by [m] or [n].¹ Pap. has equivalents for the four SF. nasal vowels. It has, besides, three nasal diphthongs non-existent in SF.

The Simple Nasal Vowels

[ã].--This sound is identical with its SF. counterpart as found in enfant.² It occurs only in free syllables. Ex. an [ã], en [ã], enfant [ãfã], aventure [avãty:r].

[ẽ].--This sound differs from its SF. counterpart in its closer and considerably more fronted articulation. Whereas SF. [ẽ] (as in vin) is almost the perfect nasal counterpart of the Midwestern American [æ] as in "hat," Pap. [ẽ] is the nasal counterpart of the SF. open e in mette. Pap. [ẽ] occurs only in free syllables. Ex. fin [fẽ], maintien [mãtjẽ], plein [plẽ], moins [mwẽ].

[ẽ̃].--In two Pap. words the nasal counterpart of SF. close e (as in été) is heard. This sound is here represented by the symbol [ẽ̃]. Ex. nez [nẽ̃], moi [mwẽ̃] or [mwẽ̃̃]. (Cf. Remark b, below.)

[õ].--This sound is identical with its SF. counterpart as found in bonbon.³ It occurs only in free syllables. Ex. on [õ], longtemps [lõtã], iront [irõ], allons [alõ].

[õe].--This sound is identical with its SF. counterpart as found in un. It is very rare in Pap., being heard only in slow, careful speech. Ex. un [õe], aucun [ókõe], lundi [lõeɖi].

In careless, informal, or rapid speech--that is, almost regularly--Pap. speakers fail to round the lips for [õe], and the resulting nasal vowel

¹For the slight nasalization of vowels in contact with [m], [n], or [ɲ] in a following syllable, see Nasal Consonants, Remark a, p. 39.

²A considerably more fronted pronunciation of [ã], which is almost the nasal counterpart of front [a] (as in SF. patte), is occasionally heard. This sound is not indigenous to Papineauville.

³In the place-name Montréal, the o has lost its nasal quality, and is generally pronounced [ɑ]: [mãréal] or, more usually, [mãrjal].

is therefore often identical with SF. [ɛ̃]. This sound has, however, generally become assimilated to the closer and more fronted pronunciation of Pap. [ɛ̃], described above. Ex. un [ɛ̃], aucun [ókɛ̃], lundi [lɛ̃ʒi].

Remark: In the Pap. equivalents of the following words, the vowel seems to have become nasalized through contact with a preceding nasal consonant: neige [nɛ̃i:ʒ], nez [nɛ̃], moi [mwɛ̃].¹ The Pap. equivalent of mimit is [mɛ̃ɲi].

The Nasal Diphthongs

When stressed and checked, the Pap. nasal vowels [ɛ̃], [ɔ̃], and [ʊ̃] become diphthongs which consist of a continuous glide from the initial element to the final element, the auditory impression being that of a single syllable with the stress on the first element and decreasing uniformly throughout.

[ɛ̃u].--When stressed and checked, [ɛ̃] becomes a diphthong which begins with the sound [ɛ̃] described above and glides to or near the position for nasalized [U]. In other words, the diphthong is practically the nasal counterpart of the vowel sound in the Midwestern American pronunciation of the word "pound."² It is represented here by the symbol [ɛ̃u]. Ex. langue [lɛ̃u:g], blanche [blɛ̃u:ʃ], vendre [vɛ̃u:d].

[ɛ̃i].--When stressed and checked, [ɛ̃] becomes a diphthong which begins with the sound [ɛ̃] and closes to or near the position for nasalized [I]. Thus it is the nasal counterpart of the diphthong [ɛ̃i], described on page 25, above. It is represented here by the symbol [ɛ̃i]. Ex. prince [prɛ̃i:s], singe [sɛ̃i:ʒ], grimpe [grɛ̃i:p].

[ɔ̃u].--When stressed and checked, [ɔ̃] becomes a diphthong which begins with the sound [ɔ̃] and glides to or near the position for nasalized [U]. The result is practically the nasal counterpart of the vowel sound in Midwestern American "don't." It is represented here by the symbol [ɔ̃u]. Ex. tombe [tɔ̃u:b], honte [hɔ̃u:t], pompe [pɔ̃u:p].

Remark: The diphthongization of nasal vowels has been described as a phenomenon occurring only under stress and check. As a matter of fact, such glides are often distinctly perceptible in nasal vowels found in syllables other than the ultima. This is particularly true, in affective speech, of words that are uttered slowly and with unusual emphasis, such as oaths, expletives, adjurations, etc. Ex. Viens 'oitte (=ici), enfant de baptême! [vjɛ̃ sɪt, ɔ̃fɛ̃ d batɛ̃i:m].

¹Such nasalization does not occur in the Pap. equivalent of mois, which is pronounced [mwɛ̃]. (See the group [wa], etc., Exception b, p. 32.)

²Indeed, if the word "pound" be pronounced with a fully nasalized vowel, the result is nearly identical with Pap. pende.

7. The Semiconsonants

The Pap. semiconsonants (symbols [j], [w], [y]) are in most cases pronounced like their SF. equivalents, though their articulation is somewhat less tense. Ex. pied [pjé], travail [trava:j], oui [wi], ouest [wès(t)], lui [lyi], muît [nyî].

Exceptions:

a. In a few Pap. words, the vowels [i] and [u] retain their full vocalic quality before another vowel.¹ The vowel [i] in hiatus has regularly generated an intervening [j]-glide. Ex. hier [ijèi:r], abrier [abrijé] (=abriter), trier [trijé]; Louis [lui], jouer [žué], alouette [aluèt].

b. In the Pap. equivalents of the following words, the semiconsonant is rarely heard: froid [frèt],² droit [drèt],² étroit [étrèt],² croire (and its derivatives) [krèi:r], loyer [lòjé] and many other words whose SF. equivalents are spelled with oi or oy,³ inquiet [èkèt],² bien (adverb) [bè],⁴ puis [pi].

c. In the Pap. equivalents of the following words, the semiconsonants are pronounced, while the preceding consonant is not usually heard: avoir [awèi:r],⁵ voir [wèi:r],⁵ envoyer [əwèjé],⁵ gravois [grawa],⁵ avoine [awèn],⁵ trois [twò], diable [jäu:b],⁶ rien que [jèi:k], [èi:k].⁷

d. In the group [yi], the [i] may be elided, and the semiconsonant become fully vocalic. Ex. j' suis malade [ê sy malad], depuis un mois [dèpy ẽ mwò], essuie-mains [ésy-mè]. This phenomenon also occurs in the Pap. equivalents of words containing the unstressed combination [yij], which is represented in Pap. by [yj]. Ex. tuyau [tyjé], cuiller [kyjèi:r], juillet [zyja].

e. For the SF. intertonic combination [èj] in the following words, Pap. has simply [j]: balayer [baljé], délayer [déljé], oreiller [arjé], [òrjé]. The Pap. equivalent of trayon is [trijè].

¹This practice is usual in careful SF. speech, particularly in the case of verbs. In Pap. it is observable in all types of discourse.

²For the pronunciation of the final [t], see the consonant [t], Remark c, p. 35.

³See the group [wè], etc., Exception c, p. 33, and the group [wèj], Exceptions, p. 34.

⁴In the Pap. equivalent of the noun bien, however, the semiconsonant is retained. Ex. Ça va te faire du bien [bjè].

⁵Cf. the consonant [v], Remark a, p. 36.

⁶Cf. the consonant [d], Remark b, p. 34.

⁷Cf. the consonant [r], Remark c, p. 38.

f. Such equivalents as exist in Pap. for recent SF. borrowings spelled with w are pronounced with [w], never with [v]. Ex. sandwich [sădwIt̥s̥], wagon [wəɣIn].

8. Pap. Equivalents of the SF. Groups [wa], [wə], [waj]

The vowel groups [wa], [wə], and [waj], represented in SF. by the spellings oi and oy, have been reserved for individual treatment because of the numerous difficulties which they present. Indeed, these groups have such a wide variety of equivalents in Pap. as to defy classification according to any definite principles; the pronunciations [wa], [wé], [wè], [wI], [wò], [wèi], [wèj], [èi], [èj], [è], [é], [ò], [òj], [aj], and [u] are observable in the speech of any one individual. Little can be attempted here beyond an enumeration of the various classes of words in which each equivalent is heard.

In Stressed Syllables

[wa], [wé], [wò], [wè:j], [é].--When phonetically final, SF. [wa] and [wə] are usually represented by [wa] in Pap. Ex. bourgeois [bŮr̥zwa], choix [šwa], croix [krwa], doigt [dwa], empois [ăpwa], foi [fwa], foie [fwa], fois [fwa], gravois [grawa],¹ joie [žwa], loi [lwa], oie [wa], quoi [kwa], reçoit [rəswa], roi [rwa], soi [swa], soie [swa], voix [vwa].

Exceptions:

a. For SF. [wa] in the personal pronouns moi and toi, Pap. has [wé]: [mwé],² [twé]. The same is true of the Pap. equivalents of the following verb-forms: dois [dwé], doit [dwé], bois [bwé], boit [bwé], vois [(v)wé],¹ voit [(v)wé].¹ The Pap. equivalents of crois and croit are pronounced [kré].³

b. The Pap. equivalents of the following words are pronounced with [wò]: bois (noun) [bwò], mois [mwò], noix [nwò], poids [pwò], pois [pwò], trois [t(r)wò].

c. In verb-forms where the SF. [wa] is followed by a mute-e ending, Pap. has [wè:j]: emploie [ăplwè:j], nettoies [nətwè:j], envoient [ă(v)wè:j],¹ soient [swè:j], voie [(v)wè:j],¹ voient [(v)wè:j].¹ The same is true of the Pap. equivalents of the verb-forms sois and soit, which are pronounced [swè:j]. (Cf. Open e, Exception b, p. 25.)

[wèi], [èi].--When stressed and long, SF. [wa] and [wə] are usually

¹Cf. Semiconsonants, Exception c, p. 31, and the consonant [v], Remark a, p. 36.

²For the more common nasalized pronunciation of the vowel in moi, see Simple Nasal Vowels, Remark, p. 30.

³Cf. Semiconsonants, Exception b, p. 31.

represented in Pap. by [wèi:].¹ Ex. ardoise [ardwèi:z], armoire [armwèi:r], avoir [a(v)wèi:r],² and all infinitive endings in -oir [wèi:r], boire [bwèi:r], boîte [bwèi:t], bourgeoise [bŭrzwèi:z], foire [fwèi:r], framboise [frābwèi:z], Françoise [frāswèi:z], gloire [glwèi:r], histoire [istwèi:r], noir [nwèi:r], paroisse [parwèi:s], poire [pwèi:r], poivre [pwèi:v], rasoir [rāzwèi:r], soir [swèi:r], victoire [viktswèi:r]. The Pap. equivalents of croire and accroire are [krèi:r], [akrèi:r].³

[wè], [è].--When stressed, short, and checked, SF. [wa] is usually represented by Pap. [wè]. Ex. avoine [awèn],² éloigne [élwèñ], étoile [étwèl], moine [mwèn], poil [pwèl], soif [swèf], toile [twèl]. In the Pap. equivalents of droit, étroit, and froid, the semiconsonant [w] is not heard: [drèt], [étrèt], [frèt].⁴

In Unstressed Syllables

[wè], [wé], [wI], [u], [ò].--Also represented by [wè] in Pap. is SF. [wa] occurring in unstressed syllables. Ex. moineau [mwèno], toilette [twèlèt], soigner [swèné], poireau [pwèró].

Exceptions:

a. Before the sound [z], SF. [wa] in unstressed syllables is represented by Pap. [wé]. Ex. poison [pwézø], cloison [krwézø], demoiselle [dɛmwézèl], oiseau [wézó].⁵ The Pap. equivalent of the word moisir is, however, [mɔzi:r].

b. In the Pap. equivalents of a few words, SF. unstressed [wa] is represented by either [wé] or [wI]. Ex. poisson [pwésø], [pwIsø], boisson [bwésø], [bwIsø], soixante [swésdɛ:t], [swIsdɛ:t], voiture [(v)wéty:r], [(v)wIty:r].²

c. The Pap. equivalents of the following words are pronounced with [ò]: moitié [mòtyé], [mòk(j)é], poignée [pòné]. poigner [pòné] (=attraper), poignet [pòna], poitrine [pòtrIn].

Pap. Equivalents of the SF. Group [waj]

[wèj], [èj], [òj], [aj].--The SF. group [waj] written oy is usually represented in Pap. by [wèj]. Ex. envoyer [ã(v)wèjé],² foyer [fwèjé], royal [rwèjal], soyons [swèjò], soyez [swèjé], voyage [(v)wèja:z],² voyons [(v)wèjò],²

¹ Except before final [j] and [v], where [è] does not diphthongize. Ex. emploi [ãplwè:j], nettoies [nɛtwè:j], doive [dɔw:v], boive [bwè:v]. Cf. Exception c, above, and note 1, p. 26.

² Cf. Semiconsonants, Exception c, p. 31, and the consonant [v], Remark a, p. 36.

³ Cf. Semiconsonants, Exception b, p. 31.

⁴ Cf. Semiconsonants, Exception b, p. 31, and the consonant [t], Remark c, p. 35.

⁵ Also pronounced [wIzó] and [wɛzó].

voyez [(v)wèjé].¹ The Pap. equivalents of croyez, crovable, and other derivatives of croire spelled with cro- in SF. are [krèjé], [krèjab], etc.²

Exceptions; The Pap. equivalents of the words moyen, loyer, noyau, and the verb noyer are [mòjè], [lòjé], [òjé] or [ajó], and [nèjé],³ respectively.

F. CONSONANTS

1. The Flosive Consonants

[p], [b].--The bilabial plosives are in general pronounced like their SF. equivalents in all positions--initial, medial, and final. In the initial and intervocalic positions, however, Pap. [p] is followed by a clearly distinguishable aspiration. In these positions, Pap. [b] receives slight aspiration. Ex. patte [pat], papa [pòpò], [pupò], nappe [nap]; bébé [bèbè], abbé [abé], robe [ròb].

[t], [d], and [t̥], [d̥].--In most positions, the dental plosives are pronounced like their SF. equivalents. There is little or no aspiration. Ex. tâter [tüté], chatte [šat]; dans [dã], vider [vidé], fade [fad].

Before the narrow vowels [i], [I], [y], and [Y], however, the dental consonants are always assibilated. That is, the tip of the tongue is placed inside of the lower teeth, a stop is made with the blade of the tongue against the alveolar ridge, and this stop is immediately broken by the current of air behind, which rushes out, producing a strongly sibilant or hissing [s]- or [z]-sound. The assibilated dentals give the auditory impression of a combination of [t] and [s], and of [d] and [z], but in reality each consists of a single affricate sound.⁴ The symbols employed here for the assibilated dentals are [t̥] and [d̥], respectively. Ex. tire [t̥isr], tiens [t̥jè], tu [t̥y]; dire [d̥isr], du [d̥y].

Remarks:

a. Assibilation of [t] and [d] does not take place before the nasal vowel sounds [ẽ] and [œ]. Ex. boudin [budẽ], butin [bytẽ], tout d'un coup [tu d'ẽ kɥ], [tu d'œ kɥ].

b. Before the semiconsonant sound [j], the dentals [t] and [d] are sometimes retracted farther back than the position which makes for assibilation, and the

¹Cf. Semiconsonants, Exception c, p. 31, and the consonant [v], Remark a, p. 36.

²Cf. Semiconsonants, Exception b, p. 31.

³There is no exact Pap. equivalent of the SF. noun noyer.

⁴See Ernest F. Haden, "The Assibilated Dentals in Franco-Canadian," American Speech, XVI (1941), 285-288.

palatals [k], [g] result. That is, [t] becomes a fronted [k], and [d] becomes a fronted [g]. This change is fairly well confined to the speech of the extremely illiterate. Ex. moitié [mòtʃjé] or [mòkʃjé], chantier [šãtʃjé] or [šãkʃjé], diable [dʒjũ:b] or [gʒjũ:b], Dieu [dʒø] or [gʒø], chaudière [šòdʒèi:r] or [šògʒèi:r].¹

In this position [d] (or [g]) may even fall altogether. Ex. Canadien [kanajé], diable [jũ:b], Dieu [jø], chaudière [šajèi:r]. Sometimes the change of [t] and [d] to [k] and [g] is accompanied by the fall of the semiconsonant sound [j]. Ex. tiens [kjě], [kě], tiers-point [kjèi:r-pwě], [kèi:r-pwě], moitié [mòkʃjé], [mòké], Dieu [gʒø], [gø], chaudière [šagèi:r].

c. In Pap., a final [t] is pronounced in many words whose SF. equivalents have a silent t. Ex. droit [drèt], étroit [étrèt], net [nèt], pet [pèt], fouet [fwèt], bout [bUt], debout [dɛbUt], tout [tUt], pot [pòt], trot [tròt], plat (adjective) [plat], comme de fait [kòm də fèt] (=en effet), inquiet [ɛkèt]. Also pronounced with a final [t]-sound is the Pap. equivalent of the word froid: [frèt]. In certain words, especially proper names, the terminations written -et and -ot in SF. are represented in Pap. by [èt] and [òt], respectively. Ex. alphabet [alfabèt], toupet [tupèt], Bourget [bUržèt], Brunet [brynèt], Forget [fòržèt]; Chabot [šabòt], Talbòt [talbòt].

d. Phonetically final [t] is usually elided after [s]. Ex. artiste [arʃIs], dentiste [dãtʃIs], reste [rès], juste [žYs].

[k], [g].--The palatal plosives are in general pronounced like their SF. equivalents in all positions. There is no aspiration. Ex. carte [kart], cri [kri], accord [akũ:r], sac [sak]; guerre [gèi:r], gare [gũ:r], égal [égall], longue [lõu:g].

Remarks:

a. In careless, informal speech, [g] is subject to extreme relaxation, especially when it occurs in an intervocalic position. It then becomes a voiced palatal fricative acoustically comparable to the fricative g in the Spanish words águila, guerra, rogar, or agudo, according to the nature of the following vowel. This sound is represented here by the symbol [ġ]. Ex. encore [ãgũ:r], [ãġũ:r], ta gueule [ta gœl], [ta ġœl], les guides [lé gId], [lé ġId]. The fricative [ġ] may even be relaxed into an extremely open and retracted [j]. Ex. prends garde [prã jard], fatigué [faʃijé].²

b. A final [k] is pronounced in a few words whose SF. equivalents have a silent final consonant. Ex. croc [kròk], porc [pòrk]. The converse is true

¹Also pronounced [šãdʒèi:r], [šagʒèi:r], [šagèi:r], [šajèi:r].

²In fatiguer, fatigue, the palatal more frequently unvoices: [faʃiké], [faʃIk].

in coq d'Inde [kò d'ɛ̃i:d] (=dindon).

c. Words which in SF. are spelled with the letter x ([ks] or [gz]) are generally pronounced like their SF. equivalents. Ex. exister [ɛgzistɛ], expression [ɛksprɛsjɔ̃]. Before a consonant, however, the [k]-element is often elided. Ex. excuse [ɛskYz], exprès [ɛspra], expliquer [ɛsplikɛ].

2. The Fricative Consonants

[f], [v].--The labiodental fricatives are in general pronounced like their SF. equivalents in all positions, though the articulation is considerably more relaxed. Ex. fil [fɪl], affaire [afɛi:r], bref [brɛf]; vivre [vi:v], laver [lavé], cave [ka:v].

Remarks:

a. Before the groups [wa], [wɛ], and [wɛi], spelled oi in SF., the articulation of [v] is usually relaxed until the contact of upper teeth with lower lip disappears entirely. The resultant bilabial semiconsonant [w] fuses with the following [w]. Ex. voir [(v)wɛi:r], avoir [a(v)wɛi:r], avoine [awɛn], gravois [grawa].¹

b. The final f of certain SF. words is not heard in their Pap. equivalents. Ex. boeuf ("ox") [bɔf],² oeuf [ø] or [œf], neuf ("new") [nøf],³ chétif [ɛ̃ɛti]. The Pap. equivalent of nerf [nɛrf] is invariable. Ex. Mes nerfs [mé nɛrf].

[s], [z].--The sibilants are in general pronounced like their SF. equivalents in all positions. Ex. sans [sã], assez [asé], grosse [gró:s]; causer [kózé], des amis [dé z ami], douze [du:z].

Remarks:

a. There is a strong tendency in Pap. to pronounce with a final [s]-sound words which in SF. have a silent s. Ex. gens [ʒɛ̃s], tandis que [tã̃dis kɛ], trois [t(r)wú:s].⁴ The converse is true in the Pap. equivalents of ours [u:r] and os [ó], which are invariable.

b. For the use of prosthetic e before s "impure," see Prosthesis, page 41.

[ʃ], [ʒ].--These fricatives are in general pronounced like their SF. equivalents in all positions. Ex. charmant [ʃarmã], chercher [ʃarɛ́], vache [vaʃ]; jour [ʒu:r], agent [aʒã], âge [ɛ̃:ʒ].

¹The same phenomenon usually occurs in the Pap. equivalent of cheval, [ʒwal], the [v] relaxing to [w] and the preceding [ʃ] becoming voiced by regressive assimilation. Progressive assimilation occurs in the pronunciation [ʃfal], which is heard in more careful speech.

²Boeuf in the sense of "beef" is pronounced like its SF. equivalent: [bœf].

³The numeral is pronounced as in SF.: [nœf].

⁴See Cardinal Numerals, p. 48.

Remarks:

a. In the Pap. equivalents of achever, acheter, and cheval, [ʃ] is usually voiced. Ex. achève [aʒê:v], achète [aʒêt], le cheval [lɛ ʒwal].¹ This voicing may be generalized throughout the conjugation of achever [aʒvé]² and acheter [aʒté], even when the suppression of neutral e in the latter verb brings the [ʒ]-sound into contact with the surd [t]. Ex. achetez [aʒté], achetant [aʒtã].

b. In English words the affricate values of ch, j, and "soft" g are preserved. Ex. check [tʃɛk], chum [tʃòm], pyjama [pidʒamò], Jersey [dʒœrʒé].

[h].--Contrary to SF. usage, the glottal fricative [h] is frequently heard in Pap. Its use is generally confined to a few words whose SF. equivalents begin with aspirate h. Ex. le haut [lɛ hó], la honte [la hœ̃st], la hache [la haʃ]. It is also pronounced in the Pap. equivalent of dehors [dɛ̃dœ̃:r].

In the Pap. equivalents of most other SF. words with h, the h, whether aspirate or mute, is entirely ignored, permitting both liaison and elision. Ex. l'héron [l'érò], les héros [lé z érò], coup d'hasard [ku d'azœ̃:r], l'homme [l'òm], les histoires [lé z istœ̃i:r].

Remark: In the speech of the extremely illiterate, SF. h is often represented by [g], which may become the fricative [ɣ] described above, or relax completely into [j]. Ex. ahurissant [agyrisã], [aɣyrisã], [ajyrisã]; un hibou [ʒ gibu], [ɣ gibu], [j gibu].

3. The Consonants L and R

The lateral fricative [l] is pronounced like its SF. equivalent in all positions. Only the tongue-tip trilled variety of [r] is used in Pap. Ex. lac [lak], aller [alé], blé [blé], belle [bèl]; rire [ri:r], gros [gró], force [fòrs], fourrer [furé], cire [si:r].

Remarks:

a. In the Pap. equivalents of SF. words ending in -oir and -eur, final [r] is not usually heard. This results in a general confusion of the latter termination with the ending written -eux in SF. Ex. entonnoir [ãtônwa], couloir [kulwa], chanteur [ʃãtø], conteur [kõtø], laboureur [laburø].

b. Final [r] is never pronounced in the Pap. equivalents of the possessive adjectives leur, leurs, and it is rarely heard in the equivalent of the preposition sur. Ex. leur mère [lø mèi:r], leurs amis [lø z ami], sur la table [sy la tab].

¹Cf. n. 1, p. 36.

²Forms of achever in which [ʃ] comes phonetically into contact with [v] may exhibit progressive assimilation, the [v] unvoicing as in SF. Ex. achever [aʃfé], achevant [aʃfã].

c. The Pap. equivalent of rien is generally pronounced [rjɛ̃]. But in contact with a heavy consonant group, or when used absolutely, the pronunciation is [ʁrjɛ̃].¹ The [r] is rarely heard in rien que, pronounced [jɛ̃k], or simply [ɛ̃k].

d. In the Pap. equivalents of SF. words ending in a consonant followed by [l] or [r] plus mute e, the [l] or [r] are rarely heard. Ex. table [tab], possible [pòsɪb], aimable [ɛ̃mab], quatre [kat], arbre [arb] or [tʁu:b].

e. As in popular French, the pronouns il and ils are usually pronounced without [l] in Pap. il is pronounced [i] only before a vowel sound, and then only in very careful speech. Ex. il va [i vò], ils ont [i z ɔ̃], il a [j'ò]² or, rarely, [il ɔ̃].

f. The sound [l], when it appears in a heavy consonant group within the body of a word, tends to be elided. Ex. quelqu'un [kɛk'ɔ̃], malgré [magré], plus [py],³ plutôt [pytò], au lieu de [ó jø dɛ].

g. In a few words, SF. [l] is represented in Pap. by [n] or [r]. Ex. caleçon [kansɔ̃], pillule [pɪlyɛ̃], mélasse [mɛnas], vénimeux [vɛlimø];⁴ cloison [krwézɔ̃], bavaroise [bavalwɛi:z],⁵ almanach [armanò], colonel [kòrònɛl].

h. For the epenthesis of neutral e between an initial consonant sound and [l] or [r], see Epenthesis, page 41.

i. In the Pap. equivalents of some SF. words spelled with il or ill, there is some hesitation as to the choice of [l] or [j]. Ex. soulier [sujé], milieu [mijø], ailleurs [aljœ:r], ampoule [ɔ̃pUj], écaille [ékal].

4. The Nasal Consonants

[m], [n], [ɲ], [ŋ].--The nasal consonants [m], [n], and [ɲ] are in general pronounced like their SF. equivalents in all positions. Ex. même [mèi:m], aimer [ɛ̃mé], dame [dam]; nous [nu], année [ané], canne [kan]; agneau [año],

¹See Epenthesis, p. 41.

²Before a vowel, i' becomes [j], except before a verb which receives the tonic stress. Ex. I'a [j'ò] pas d'argent. But: Je sais pas ivou-ce (=où) qu'i' est [k'i jé].

³The adverb plus has three equivalents in Pap., according to its use in the sentence. When qualifying an adjective or an adverb, it is generally pronounced like its SF. counterpart: [ply]. When used in the negative sense, the [l] is always elided: [py]. When used before que, the final [s] is often pronounced. Ex. Alice est plus [ply] belle que vous. J'ai plus [py] de pommes; j'en ai plus [py] (=Je n'ai plus de pommes; je n'en ai plus). T'en as plus [plys] que moi.

⁴Used only as an epithet. Ex. Je veux plus le revoir, le maudit vlimeux (=coquin)!

⁵Calottes à la bavaroise = pantalon à pont.

ligne [liɛ̃], montagne [mɔ̃taɛ̃].

English words spelled with ng are pronounced with a sound closely akin to the ng in Midwestern American "sing." The symbol [ɲ] is used here to represent this sound. Ex. spring [sprɪɲ] (=ressort), studding [stòdɪɲ] (=colombage), tongue [tòɲ] (=timon).

Remarks:

a. The nasal consonants often impart a slight nasal quality to vowels in the preceding syllable. This is especially true of [ɲ]. Ex. flamme [flɑ:m], gagne [gɑ:ɲ], montagne [mɔ̃taɛ̃:ɲ].¹

b. The sound [m] is usually elided in the Pap. equivalents of words which in SF. have the terminations written -isme, -asme. Ex. catechisme [katɛ̃sɪs], or, more commonly, [katɛ̃sɪs], rhumatisme [rymaɲɪs], cataplasme [kataplas].

c. The Pap. equivalents of SF. words which contain the group [nj] before a vowel are usually pronounced with [ɲ]. Ex. panier [paɲé], manière [maɲèi:r], grenier [grɪɲé], jardinier [ʒɑɲiɲé].

G. ELISION

The oral elision of neutral e is made in Pap. wherever it is made in familiar SF. speech. Furthermore, the neutral e of monosyllables is often suppressed before words that commence with a consonant sound, even at the beginning of a sentence or a stress-group. The pronoun je [ʒɛ] regularly loses its [ɛ] in such cases, the remaining [ʒ]-sound becoming unvoiced if it comes into contact with a surd. Ex. J' l'ai vu [ʒ l'ɛ vɥ], j' veux l' dire [ʒ vø l ɔi:r], j' sais pas [ʃ sɛ pò], j' te dis [ʃ tɛ ɔi]. In the expression je suis, the unvoiced [ʒ] and the [s] are usually reduced to a single sound: [ʃ]. Ex. J' su' (=suis) pas capable [ʃy pò kapab].

The elision of the neutral e of other monosyllables such as le, ce, te, and me in the circumstances described above for je is frequent, but not invariably the rule. Ex. ce garçon-là [s garsɔ-lò] or [sɛ garsɔ-lò], le vin blanc [l vɛ blɑ̃] or [lɛ vɛ blɑ̃], me le donnes-tu [m lɛ dòn-ty] or [mɛ l dòn-ty].

Elision of neutral e within a word occurs according to the standard rules. In the initial syllable of many words, however, neutral e is rarely pronounced. Ex. cerise [sri:s], cenelle [snèl], geler [ʒlɛ], jeter [ʃtɛ], cheval [ʃfal] or [ʒwal],² cheveu [ʃfɔ], chemise [ʃmi:s], serin [srɛ], pelote [plòt], peloton [plòtɔ].

For the elision of neutral e before words which in SF. have an aspirate h, see the consonant [h], page 37.

¹Cf. the statement on p. 19. ²See n. 1, p. 36.

H. LIAISON

Liaison is much less frequent in Pap. than in SF. It is regularly used only in the following cases:

a. In monosyllabic modifiers (articles, possessive and demonstrative adjectives, numerals, etc.) preceding a substantive. Ex. les amis [lé z ami], des hommes [dé z òm], aux autres [ó z ó:t], mes idées [mé z idé].

b. In masculine plural adjectives preceding a substantive. Ex. des bons amis [dé bõ z ami], les beaux hommes [lé bó z òm]. But the liaison of feminine plural adjectives is rare. Ex. les bonnes années [lé bõn ané], des belles oranges [dé bèl òrdũ:ž].

c. In personal pronouns followed by a verb. Ex. vous allez [vu z alé], on est [õ n é], ils ont [i z õ], j' les ai [ž lé z é].

d. In personal pronouns followed by autres. Ex. nous autres [nu z ó:t], eux autres [ø z ó:t].

e. In verb-forms followed by a pronoun subject. Ex. sont-ils [sõ ž-i]. ont-ils [õ ž-i], a-t-il [ò-ž-i].

f. In the present indicative forms of être followed by an adjective, an adverb, or a past participle. Regardless of the verb-ending, the liaison form invariably ends in the sound [t]. Ex. j' suis icitte (=ici) [š sʏi t isIt], t'es allé [t'é t alé], ils sont en l'air [i sõ t ǎ l'èi:r]. (Cf. the verb être, page 62.)

Liaison rarely occurs between other auxiliary verb-forms and a past participle. Ex. ils ont arrangé [i z õ arǎžé], vous avez acheté [vu z avé ašté], i'était arrivé [j'éta arivé]. Liaison is never made between inverted pronoun subject and past participle. Ex. avez-vous été [avé-vu été], sont-ils arrivés [sõ ž-i arivé].

In the remaining cases in which liaison may or must occur in SF., Pap. either prefers hiatus or makes a false liaison. Ex. sans elle [sǎ èl], cent hommes [sǎ z òm], ¹huit hommes [ʏi z òm], cinq amis [sě z ami], neuf enfants [noe z ǣũ], avant-hier [avũ z ijèi:r], un gros arbre [õ gró t arb], il en veut [i n ǎ vø], vous allez en manger [vu z alé n ǎ mǎžé].²

Liaison regularly occurs in the expression i'est onze heures [j'é t õ:z œ:r].

For liaison with words whose SF. equivalents have an aspirate h, see the consonant [h], page 37.

¹For the liaison of numerals, see section 6, p. 48.

²See Pronominal Adverbs, section e, p. 51.

I. SPORADIC PHENOMENA¹

1. Metathesis

In Pap., metathesis seems to be confined to the consonant [r] and neutral e. It commonly occurs in the prefix written re-. Ex. refuser [ʁfyzé], remarquer [ʁmarké], regarder [ʁgardé], regretter [ʁgrèté]. It is regularly used to facilitate the pronunciation of groups consisting of a consonant plus [ʁ]. Ex. autrefois [ótɛrfwa], contrevent [kötɛrvã], vendredi [vãdɛrɔi], grenouille [gɛrnUj], entretien [ãtɛrtjã].

Metathesis of [s] and neutral e, with the change of [e] to [è], occurs in secouer [èskwé].

2. Epenthesis

Epenthesis is confined to the insertion of neutral e between a consonant and [l] or [r]. Like metathesis, it has as its purpose the breaking up of heavy consonant groups. Ex. clouer [kɛlwé], bluet [bɛlyã], tablier [tabɛljé], truie [tɛryi], sucrier [sykɛrjé], vendriez [vãdɛrjé], voudriez [vudɛrjé], and all such forms of the plural of the past future of verbs whose SF. equivalents end in -re.

Such an epenthesis usually occurs in the Pap. equivalent of rien [rjã], when used absolutely or in contact with a heavy consonant group: [ɛrjã].²

3. Prosthesis

In many words whose SF. equivalents begin with s "impure," Pap. prefixes a prosthetic [è]. Ex. spécial [èspésjal], squelette [èskɛlèt], station [èstüsjã], scandale [èskãdal].

4. Agglutination

In a few Pap. words, agglutination of the type exemplified by the SF. loriot and lendemain has taken place. Ex. l'envers > le lenvers [lɛ lãvɛi:r]; l'évier > le lavier [lɛ lavjé];³ la vis > l'avisse [l'avIs]; la remise > l'ar-

¹Most of the forms listed here are not true canadianisms, inasmuch as they represent developments which had been completed by the 16th century in the original French dialects of which Franco-Canadian speech is composed. Many of them are still current in the dialects of Normandie, Anjou, Berry, etc., as well as in popular French. The classification into categories has been adopted here merely for the sake of clarity of presentation.

²Cf. the consonant [r], Remark c, p. 38.

³Probably by analogy with laver.

mise [l'armi:z]; la ridelle > l'aridelle [l'aridèl]. In some cases, agglutination occurring in a plural form has produced a new singular form. Ex. les copeaux > l'écopeau [l'ékòpò], les écopeaux; les cosses > l'écosse [l'ékòs], les écosses; les pelures > l'épelure [l'épily:r], les épelures; les ronces > l'éronce [l'érou:s], les éronces.

5. False Analogy

In the following list, the SF. word is followed by its Pap. equivalent, and the probable basis of the false analogy is indicated by the sign a within parentheses: aval > enval [ãvalé] (a en); morsure > mordure [mòrdy:r] (a mordre); inflammation > enflammation [ãflamäs:jö] (a enflammer); flamme > flambe [flãu:b] (a flamber); sortilège > sorcilège [sòrsilè:ž] (a sorcier); abriter > abrier [abrijé] (a abri); abîmer > abumer [abymé] (a abus); tomate > tamate [tamat] (a patate); douloureux > dououreux [dulórp] (a douleur).

